

# 15th AUGUST

## A SOLEMN OBSERVANCE OF PEOPLE'S LIBERATION PLEDGE DAY

(By a Staff Reporter)

SUCI observed 15th August last as 'Peoples' Liberation Pledge Day'. On this day a large meeting was held at Subodh Mullick Square, Calcutta. People from Calcutta and surrounding industrial belt converged to the meeting place in large processions. The audience was comprised of poor peasants, industrial workers and the middle class people. Comrade Ashutosh Banerji, Calcutta District Secretary of SUCI presided over the meeting. The main speaker was Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of SUCI and the great Marxist thinker of India. The meeting started with a condolence resolution in remembrance of the departed revolutionary leader Maharaj Troilakyanath Chakraborty and other martyrs who laid down their lives in the anti-imperialist freedom struggle and also in the democratic mass movements since independence and a minutes' silence was observed as a mark of respect to them. Then a resolution on present political situation in our country and of West Bengal in particular which was moved by Com. Sukomal Dasgupta and seconded by Com. Sitiesh Dasgupta was adopted in the meeting.

Some extracts of the speech of Com. Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher, addressed on the occasion are given below.

Com. Ghosh begins his speech by saying that every year SUCI observes this day as People's Liberation Pledge Day. Twenty three years have elapsed since we attained independence. The British imperialists have left and the country has achieved freedom. But what has become the outcome of this independence? The toiling masses, the middle-class, the students, the poor people shed their lives for driving out the foreign imperialists but the political power went into the hands of the Indian capitalist class. Now the broad masses who bore the brunt of toil and sacrifice and suffered intolerably at the hands of the then British rulers are again facing the brute oppression of the national bourgeoisie, in

whose hands the political power is concentrated. The bourgeoisie, since independence have consolidated its power manifold with the sole object to suppress the people and reap maximum profit—by virtue of its control over the means of production—most rapaciously and with the least concern for the welfare of the common people. Such is the state of thing obtaining now, and when the poverty-stricken people, bereft of any privilege to lead the life of a man with dignity, organise to protest against the undemocratic inhuman brutalities perpetrated by the present ruling class, launch legitimate democratic mass movements for redressing their just grievances, the bourgeoisie of present independent India unashamedly casts aside all democratic standard and ruthlessly suppresses these movements by taking recourse to firing and intimidation. So the people are

# Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA

(Fortnightly)

Editor-in Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

VOL 4  
No. 2

SEPTEMBER 1, 1970  
TUESDAY

PRICE  
20 P.

## COM. MUKHERJEE CONDEMNS CPI(M)'s BETRAYAL IN DURGAPUR

Sri Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, of SUCI has issued the following statement on CPM's unconditional surrender to the management in Durgapur:—

"CPI(M)'s unconditional surrender to the management in Durgapur is a shameful end of an obnoxious chapter. We appeal to the CPI(M) leadership to take this lesson from the occurrences in Durgapur, that the employees and workers cannot ultimately be rallied through intimidation, terrorisation and cowardly violence behind such an unjustified demand like the release of local CPI(M) leaders who were arrested, not in connection with any democratic or trade union movement, but on charges of murder. This issue of release of CPI(M) leaders was made the focal point of the movement. By this the CPI(M) leaders have added another black chapter in the history of the working class movement, not only of Durgapur or West Bengal but of India as well. The shameless surrender by the CPI(M) leadership, relying on cowardly violence and gangsterism for fulfilment of most unjustified and ill-conceived demand—to the

brutal force of the state machinery, armed with modern lethal weapon may create jubilation among the reactionary vested class and bureaucratic section of the administration, but the democratic minded people cannot have any relation with it. This is simply an incident of defeat of a mere brutal force to a more powerful and organised brutal force. This is an inevitable result for those who pay no heed to reason, ethics, and greater interest of democratic movement and try to achieve their sectarian interest only by virtue of brutal force.

"We hope, the workers, employees, students, youths, peasants and all other sections of the democratic people will take lesson from evil consequences of the adventurist and left opportunist petty sectarian politics of CPI(M) and firmly pledge anew to preserve and maintain the unity and cohesion of the greater democratic and legitimate left movement."

now confronted with another historic task for their salvation from the yoke of capitalist rulers. Those who on and often clamour about 'nation' and 'country', must answer what sort of a free country is this where the national bourgeoisie, who are in power,

commit more crimes and cruelties than the erstwhile foreign rulers. The broad working people, who create all the wealth are forced to live in abject poverty, while the few monopolists and other vested interests who thrive on

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## SOVIET SLANDER AGAINST CHINA

Our attention has been drawn to some recent anti-Chinese propaganda let loose in Soviet Press on the question of alleged expansionist policy of China in some countries of Asia. We like to refer, in this connection, to two articles—one editorial of Pravda, named and entitled “Pseudo-revolutionaries with the mask off”, and another “Asia and Peking Empire-Builders” published in “New Times” dated 9th June ’70. The purport of both these articles is the same i.e. to anyhow undermine the image of Communist China under any pretext—even, if necessary, by taking recourse to falsehood and lie.

The Pravda editorial published after the naked U. S. aggression on Cambodia commented: “For a number of years the Chinese leadership has been promoting in Asia a line of undermining progressive regimes, of provoking conflict of states and isolating the national liberation struggle of the people from their genuine allies....” “By their actions the Peking leaders leave no doubt that they strive to use the heroic freedom struggle of the peoples in their global intrigues that stem from the great Han dreams of becoming new emperors of the “Great China”, that would rule at least Asia, if not the whole world,” (Hindustan Standard, May 28’ 70).

“Asia and the Peking Empire-Builders” by M. UKRAINTSEV has gone a few steps ahead of the Pravda editorial. We are quoting below at length some excerpts from this particular article in order to give our readers an idea of the degree of anti-Chinese bias from which the Soviet leaders are suffering today.

“Genghis Khan or Tamerlane-type expansionist ambitions are preposterous in this day and age. However, China’s latter-day “emperor” is nurturing plans which would have made these ancient conquerors green with envy” .....“In the early sixties, after the failure of their attempts to set up a bloc of “coloured”

and “indigent” peoples of Asia and Africa under the leadership of China, the Maoists set about building the Peking-Djakarta axis. Ultimately, those who followed Peking’s lead came to grief. At one time, the Maoists also courted Cambodia, but soon the Khmers realised that their Peking “friends” were out to undermine the foundations of their state. Playing on the Indo-Pakistani differences, China sought to establish

### SUKOMAL DASGUPTA

control over Pakistan, but the outrages of the pro-Peking extremists in the winter of the last year opened eyes of many in Pakistan to the real purpose of China’s advances”.....“To that end they are working to create an atmosphere of permanent internal conflict in that area. They do not care a straw for the interest of the Asian peoples and the fate of those whom they are exhorting to rise in a “peoples’ war” .....“the policy of gradually eating away (the lands of the neighbouring countries) as the silk worm eats away the leaves.”.....

“Chinese interference was one of the factors that precipitated the Right-wing coup and Cambodia’s rapprochement with the U. S. imperialists etc. etc.”

These two articles represent an absolutely perverted picture of the liberation struggles of South-east Asia. We are convinced of the fact that in reality, it is an attempt

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## By The Way

It is gathered from newspapers that Shri Sasanka Kar, CPI(M) leader in the district of Midnapore, possesses 90 acres of agricultural land in the village of Baradiha. But under the relevant law of the state a person is not entitled to possess more than 25 acres of agricultural land. Shri Kar must then have circumvented the law relating to land ceiling in order to keep in his possession the land in excess of the ceiling. Is this behaviour of Shri Kar in keeping with Communist code of conduct? Can any real Communist Party have a person like Shri Kar, who possesses *benami* land, as its leader? Let the ranks of the CPI(M) seriously ponder.

The *Ananda Bazar Patrika* in its issue dated 7th August last reported on its front page that the CPI(M) brought out on 5th August a big procession with the dead body of Shri Vivekananda Panja, Secretary of Senpukur Local Committee under Budge Budge P.S. in the district of 24-Parganas. The same *Patrika* in its issue dated 8th August reported that the local police had produced before the concerned magistrate three persons on charge of rioting, trespass and causing death to Shri Vivekananda Panja, a “police informer.” So, it comes to this that the said Secretary of the Senpukur Local Committee of the CPI(M) was also a police informer. The CPI(M) ranks may examine the character of their leaders.

According to Union Finance Minister, Shri Chavan, India, on account of smuggling of gold, wrist watches, synthetic yarn and other goods into the country, lost Rs. 16 crores in 1967, Rs. 19 crores in 1968 and Rs. 25 crores in 1969. The progressive increase in loss due to smuggling is proof of the growing efficiency, integrity and honesty of the ministers, bureaucrats and police of our country! But how does Shri Chavan be so sure of the amount of loss, unless the smugglers themselves had given an objective account of their smuggling activities to the minister. The possibility of it cannot, perhaps, be completely ruled out in view of the ‘high moral standard’ exhibited by some top Congress leaders.

In 1969-70 India imported foreign liquor for Rs. 50 lakhs of which Scotch Whisky worth Rs. 7.5 lakhs was meant for consumption of the Defence Service. It seems that foreign exchange shortage problem does not stand in the way of import of foreign liquor for consumption of the Burra Sahibs, though permission to import important life-saving drugs not produced in the country and special type of film used for detection of cardio-vascular defects has not been given on plea of foreign exchange difficulties. Our people must give three cheers to the prohibition policy of the Congress (R).

The *Economic Times* reports that the USA spends 30,000 million dollars (Rs. 22,500 crores) every year in South Vietnam, of which a million goes bang just in one mission of B-52s, which are flying 2500 missions a year, average mission consisting of 180 tons of high explosives. Other items of expenditure include the cost of maintaining 1,50,000 South Vietnamese and 20,000 Filipinos on American pay rolls in addition to 4,13,900 US troops with their 7,50,000 civilian dependants. But even then the American aggression is crumbling before the heroic fight by the patriotic people of South Vietnam. An unprecedented example of what determined people steered in revolutionary politics and led by a real Communist Party can do! Our people must take lessons from it.

# British Imperialists Restore Arms Aid To Racist South African Govt.

The Conservative Party in Great Britain has spelt out the policies of its Government in the Queen's speech and in subsequent policy statements made by the Prime Minister, Mr. Edward Heath and the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home. It is, of course, true that the British people have hardly anything to choose between the policies of the previous Labour Government and the policies of the present Conservative Government. Both are bourgeois parties wedded to serve the interests of the British capitalists; both are enemies of the British people. The only difference being that while the Conservatives are outspoken in defending the interests of the British capitalists, the Labour aristocrats wear a cloak of radicalism. Of late, even this cloak is fast disappearing.

From the Queen's speech and the policy statements it appears that the present Conservative Government of Great Britain will aim at assuming a special role in Europe (a nebulous statement that may mean anything and everything under the sun; but in actuality it will mean attempts to serve the interests of British imperialist finance capital in Europe), strengthening the NATO, maintaining military presence in areas east of Suez (reversal of the policy proposed by the Wilson Government), attempting "to find a sensible and just solution of the Rhodesian problem", securing the entry of Great Britain into the European Economic community and resuming arms aid to the South African regime of Vorster. All this means that the Conservative Government is bent on intensifying the atmosphere of cold war by continuing British military presence in areas east of Suez, to be more precise, in the Persian Gulf area, Malaysia and Singapore, the obvious intention being to help the counter-revolutionary forces in these countries in forcibly suppressing the national liberation movements now being conducted by the peoples there and try to regain the lost

British position in the Middle East and South-East Asia. It also stands for strengthening the white racist regimes with more military power so as to enable the latter to suppress more brutally the liberation movements by the African peoples.

It goes without saying that this open declaration by the Conservatives for resumption of arms aid to the Government of South Africa is not at all surprising. Clandestine sale and supply of arms to South Africa, was going on even before this declaration. In the debate in the Security Council the delegates from the resurgent nationalist countries of Africa and Asia one after another demanded a total ban on the sale of arms to the racist South African Government "unconditionally and without reservations". They severely attacked the U.S.A., Great Britain, France, West Germany and Japan for violating the embargo put by the Security Council in 1963 in this regard. France continued to supply 'defensive arms' and submarines to the Vorster regime. The U.S.A. and Great Britain also carried on clandestine arms business. And with these 'defensive arms' the South African fascists are not only brutally

suppressing the people of South Africa, who are conducting struggles for national liberation but also helping the Smith regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) with arms to suppress the national liberation movement there. They have even occupied Namibia (South West Africa) and are helping the Portuguese imperialists to carry on barbarous attacks on the national liberation movements by the peoples of Bissau (Guinea), Angola and Mozambique. In fact, strengthened by the arms supplied by the Western imperialists in utter violation of the 1963 U.N. call for embargo on arms to South Africa, the racist Vorster regime represents a major threat to the national liberation movements by peoples in different countries in the area, national independence of weak nations and world peace. The decision of the Conservative Government of Great Britain to resume arms aid to the racist regime of Vorster will increase this threat.

But what makes the British Government to resume this arms aid? We all know that Great Britain is suffering from serious crisis of market. The economy of Great Britain has already experienced about a dozen recessions since second world war. As a result, the industries are not working with full capacities; unemployment problem has assumed serious proportions. This severe unemployment has accentuated the crisis of market by further curtailing the purchasing power of the people. Devaluation of pound sterling has failed to remove the crisis of market. In the circumstances, in order to help the British monopolists to at least temporarily get over the crisis of market and keep the existing industries anyhow running with average production, the British state has come forward with orders

for production of defence goods. It is, of course true that this militarisation of the economy, in place of solving the crisis, is making it more acute. But be that as it may, the huge quantity of defence materials stockpiled by the state has got to be used up, if the artificial stimulation of increased defence production is to be maintained and flow of defence production continued. It is for this reason that the British Government is out to stir up an atmosphere of cold war and resume sale of arms to the South African Government. The British rulers, apart from their own racist attitude towards the coloured people, have taken the decision to sell arms to help the British monopolists to reap an estimated profit of more than 20 million pounds. The British rulers also want to perpetuate exploitation by its finance imperialist capital to the tune of 1000 million pounds invested in South Africa. Besides, the British imperialists also aim to develop the racist Vorster regime as an imperialist stronghold against the national liberation movements conducted by the peoples of various countries in this part of the world. Then again there is the drive to militarily strengthen the South Atlantic flank of the NATO. Consequently, the policy to resume arms aid to the South African Government has received the approval of the U.S. rulers.

But this decision to resume arms aid to South Africa of the Conservative Government, which has been defended by the British Foreign Secretary as a decision to reactivate the Simonstown Agreement providing for British-South African co-operation to defend the Cape sea route, has been strongly condemned by an overwhelming majority of the Commonwealth countries. It is unfortunate that the India

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# SIGNIFICANCE OF TRANSFER OF POWER

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the toil of others, enjoy the privileges and wealth of the nation. When the people fought for freedom, they fought for freedom from all sorts of exploitation, and for ensuring the fullest development of man in all respects. But even after twenty three years since independence, such a thing has not been achieved. The monopolists and the other vested clique, who actually control the state are blocking the course of social progress. The poor is becoming poorer, and the rich, richer—that has become the feature of the country. While China which has achieved full independence even later than India is progressing with long rapid strides and has already caught up with the industrially advanced capitalist countries like Great Britain and Japan, India is still lagging far behind and languishing in poverty. Unlike what China has achieved, we have not been able to introduce radical land reform or make rapid industrialisation in the country. Not only in the economic field but also in cultural and moral field, there are marked symptoms of all out degeneration. While during the nationalist movement the youths were imbued by a certain definite ideology of national liberation from the yoke of imperialist rulers, and dedicated themselves to fulfil this ideology maintaining a high standard of morality, the youths in the present day India are suffering from a complete lack of any concrete ideology and conviction, resulting in a sharp fall in their moral and ethical standard. Why such a reverse situation has occurred in the field of morality, among the people in general and youths in particular? Instead of lifting up of moral and educational standard, only the

number of educated persons in the garb of literacy has increased. Even after more than two decades of independence there is little scope for education and material welfare for the common people. Why such things have happened? If the people who struggled against the Britishers cared to face the main question before Indian independence movement then such things could have been avoided. India even before independence was class-divided. The two contending classes, namely the working class and the national bourgeoisie, the employer-class came face to face with distinctly opposite class interests and forces. The communists did not create this class division in the society. If there was no such class division, the communists would have been very happy. So if anyone seeks to find out the causes leading to the emergence of antagonistic classes in society, he has to know the history and social science of mankind. The particular classes which we are facing to-day appeared at a definite historical stage in the process of development of productive forces (both material and spiritual) in the society. So, it is not we, the communists, who created the workers and the capitalists, the agricultural labourers, the poor peasantry and the jotedars, the rural bourgeoisie. These are all products of history and have followed the law of development of human society. This antagonism between the classes is felt not only in the economic field but also in spiritual and moral affairs. What is most justified, legitimate, natural and moral to a jotedar, is most unjustified, illegitimate, unnatural and immoral from the point of view of an agricultural labourer. The bourgeoisie very often speak eloquent of dignity of labour. It is true that this dignity of labour is present as far as

their words are concerned, but it is not recognised in their actual practice. The people who toil and produce have no control over production. Nobody cares what do the poor toiling masses say or want. But those who do not toil to produce but only suck the blood of the actual toilers exercise full control over production and wield the entire administration in its favour. Can it be called dignity of labour or a mere farce of the capitalists?

In the nationalist movement the Indian capitalist class, also participated in it along with the broad toiling masses. But they had a completely different objective for achieving freedom from British rule. While the working people wanted emancipation from all sorts of exploitation and unhindered economic and cultural growth of the Indian society, the object before the capitalist class in overthrowing the British rule was not emancipation of the people, but only to expand its influence over the national economy and independently, but more ruthlessly, exploit its own people by establishing its class rule over the Indian state. Since the leadership of the nationalist movement has gone into the hands of this reactionary capitalist class their object is fulfilled. Due to this exploiting capitalist rule even though we have achieved freedom there is no change in the administrative system and the legacy of British bureaucratic administration is still continuing now. The police just like in the British period, do not reflect any patriotic pro-people attitude. They only know how to fabricate cases against the political workers and the toiling masses. They first arrest a man and then frame up charges of any kind which have no resemblance with the actual reality. Not only the ends of natural

justice are denied to the common people but also the people have the unsavoury experience of being subjected to torture and harassment on groundless charges and got-up incidents by the police authorities in collusion with the vested clique. Such a game of the police administration is still prevailing. Even if on some rare occasions, the court issues any censure order on a particular police action, it produces no effect on them. The entire police administration adopts an attitude of non-co-operation, and it then becomes the business of the bigwigs and the politicians to soothe their ruffled feelings. He is a good administrator in the country who can cope with the police by placating them, despite all their misdeeds and anti-people character. Because of their nefarious acts and close collaboration with the vested interests, the ordinary people despise the police just as before. If they were really carrying out their duty with a sense of genuine public feeling, they would have earned the sympathy of the people. But quite the reverse is followed in the administration. The bourgeoisie here, is even more ruthless in violating all democratic norms, than even the British bourgeoisie. Not all bourgeoisie, just because they are driven by the greed of maximum profit, adulterate in baby food and medicines. The British imperialists, even while admitting that they are most reckless while subjugating other nations and other peoples, have in their own countries, still not thrown away all shreds of democratic life or buried all democratic norms, even though they are no less plunderous than the bourgeoisie of any country. But in our country the national bourgeoisie is worse than the British bourgeoisie



## PRESENT BOURGEOIS RULE ROOT CAUSE OF ALL SUFFERINGS OF PEOPLE

and does not adhere to even this bit of democratic norm in their practices in economic and political life. It is because of the fact that the bourgeoisie in the Western countries, no matter how reactionary they are now, at one time played a revolutionary role while overthrowing feudalism and autocracy, established democratic institutions and democratised the society in the main. This progressive character, shown by the bourgeoisie when they were a revolutionary class has disappeared but certain remnants of it are still observed in Western countries. But in India, just because Indian capitalism grew and developed under the tutelage of British imperialist finance capital and for its compromising role in the nationalist movement towards imperialism and feudalism, even this modicum of democratic outlook which is present in the administration of Western bourgeois democratic countries is not followed here. During the British regime, if the colonial administration resorted to violence and caused death of even a single individual, the whole nation roused in protest against this British crime. But now, daily people in numbers are being tortured and killed like animals by the police, in a free independent state. What sort of 'independence' is it then? It is high time that the working people should organise themselves, being guided and steered by a revolutionary ideology to overthrow the reactionary capitalist class rule and establish its own power and thereby lay the foundation for creating a new life towards socialism.

While commenting on the severe economic crisis of Indian capitalism, Com. Ghosh says, that, not to speak of setting up new industries, even the established industries cannot be effectively run due to a acute recession. Steel

industries have been founded but no market for steel is available. The industries are being run much below the rated capacity, as there is no internal demand for steel and other manufactured goods. The Rourkella pipe factory had to be closed down entailing with it huge lay-off and retrenchment of workers, for Australia cancelling the order. Who is putting obstacle to the development of industries in our country? Are the workers obstructing it? Do the democratic movements hinder the growth of steel and other industries? The real cause beneath this crisis is recession. Because of the low purchasing power of the people, caused by acute unemployment and under-employment among rural and urban population the effective demand for goods produced in the national market has drastically fallen. The capitalists who own the industries do not produce for satisfying the material needs of the people, but only to earn maximum profit. Due to the decline in the purchasing power of the people there is no selling of industrial products in the home market and already produced goods are getting stockpiled with consequent retardation in the industrial activity of the country. The prospect for an outlet of goods in the foreign market is also very bleak. All these factors are responsible, why new investments for industries are not taking place. The capital is becoming bureaucratic and idle. On one hand it is cried out that there is extreme shortage of capital for which foreign capital is being sought for at extortionate price and on the other hand, the capital gained from land cannot be utilised in industries. Such a situation has cropped up only due to capitalism. It is again due to capitalism that mechanisation in agriculture is still

a far cry and an impossible thing. If mechanisation is introduced in land, the huge labour power engaged in cultivation will become surplus and cannot be accommodated in capitalistically oriented industries. As a result, if the surplus agricultural labourers rush towards cities and industrial towns in search of jobs, the whole administration will collapse. This surplus labour could have been absorbed, if there was any scope for unhindered development of industries. But for that, it is capitalism and capitalist relations of production which occupy as the stumbling block. In order to clear out of this impasse and save the people from starvation and ruin, it is necessary to uproot capitalism from social life and establish socialist control over the commodities in production and in exchange. The present bourgeois state is a powerful weapon in the hands of the capitalist class to maintain their domination over the people. The kind of law, the social system and the moral outlook which are now preserving the interests of the ruling capitalist class, cannot at the same time fulfil the interests of the working class and the other toiling masses. It is to be emphasised here that altogether a new set of law, of social system and of moral values need to be established to fortify the interests of the toiling people. Those who speak in a general way the necessity to safeguard the interests of all the classes, objectively betray the working class and serve the capitalists.

Com. Ghosh then pinpoints that the most severe crisis we are facing today is the crisis in thinking. Everyone must think and argue to develop the correct line and outlook in our politics. But the vested class is trying to kill thinking in man. Not only the vested circle, but even the parties which are leading

the left democratic movements are guilty of the same crime and obstructing this thinking and reasoning of the individual for petty selfish interests. They have thus reduced the strength of the democratic forces to a blind strength, not strictly following the line of truth and reason. It is natural to ask, he says, if you are a big party and a revolutionary party, why are you afraid to face arguments? Why do you yourself trample democracy? In actuality these forces are loyal to the task of revolution only in words, but violate it in deeds. One must understand that the bigness of a pseudo-revolutionary party only signifies that it has a greater capacity to do harm to the people. Such parties which are afraid to face opposite views, which cannot win the others by its ideological supremacy but solely rely on fanaticism, and cowardly violence to maintain its political domination over others, cannot make revolution in any country. Right from Marx and Engels, to Lenin, Stalin and Mao-Tse-tung—all these great revolutionary leaders knew that, not all proletariats become revolutionaries, at least those proletariats can not be revolutionaries who are lumpens. Those whose business is only to wag themselves, boo the others and spread scandalous stories cannot change this world. So Marx has said, in order to change this world, the proletariats have also to change themselves. Does this change mean degeneration? The proletariats have to attain even higher culture than the bourgeoisie and only then, the tasks of revolution can be carried out by them. But the so-called communists here do not even reflect the highest level of bourgeois culture, let alone to speak of the higher communist culture and ethical outlook, in their day-to-day activities and political conduct.

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# United Action Against Imperialism By Socialist Camp,

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of the Russian leaders to cover up their own apathetic attitude regarding the liberation struggles of South-east Asia and to divert the attention of the common people from their utter callousness in this respect. This propaganda shows how low can the Soviet leaders stoop and to what extent have they been degraded? They not only did not do what they ought to have done but in its turn they are conducting absolutely malicious, motivated and false propaganda against China which has no objective bearing at all. We cannot but strongly condemn this perverted political attitude of the Soviet leaders. Of course, we do never suggest that the Russian (or any other party) leaders should not place their view if they have any point of difference. The point is not that all. It is to be borne in mind that even in such cases when a particular communist party feels the necessity of vindicating its own opinion before the people which may eventually contradict the opinion of any other brother communist party—the only course before a communist is to encourage open polemics no doubt but in a manner and following a code that is conducive to the growth and development of healthy mutual relationship. The question of code of conduct is very important here otherwise it is the imperialists who will reap maximum benefit out of this difference. So, can any communist, in the name of enjoying the right to vindicate his own opinion, adopt a course of making cock and bull stories and carry out hate campaign against any other communist party—whatever may be the nature and degree of difference of opinion among them? We are raising these points so categorically in view of the fact that the whole world, not only the communist but even

the democratic mass opinion, and the patriotic forces are fully conscious of no mean contribution of the Chinese leadership in encouraging and promoting the liberation struggles of South-east Asia most effectively. Not only the pro-communist journalists like Anna Louise Strong, Mrs. Robinson but even men like Bertrand Russel (who was not a communist) hailed the Chinese leadership in unambiguous terms for the valiant support of this liberation movement. The Vietnamese freedom fighters in their struggle against British, French, Dutch and American imperialism at different stages of development felt extremely indebted to the Chinese leadership for their most honest and sincere co-operation. This co-operation did not confine itself to expressing moral support only and extending some technical help of the nature of military help of conventional type, to the Vietnamese people—it was definitely something more, thousand times more than that. When such is the real picture of Chinese role in South-east Asia how can it be depicted as a move to create cleavage, an attempt to undermine the foundation of these states or to isolate the liberation struggles from their genuine allies?

How is it that the support to one of the most heroic battles has been painted as an "attempt to create an atmosphere of permanent internal conflict in that area"? We are sorry to learn that the Soviet leaders have not only fallen victim to well known bourgeois propaganda of export and import of revolution but also have started parroting even the language of the imperialists. Leaving aside the theoretical question whether external factor alone can bring about revolution in any country or whether internal contradiction

acts as the basic cause of change in which the external contradiction plays a most important role for the growth and development of the internal contradiction in a phenomenon—and about which there is, perhaps, broad agreement among the Communists of different countries—no genuine Communist should fail to notice the point that the present criticism of the Russian leaders against China reflects only the voice and the language of the most reactionary forces of the world. After the Russian revolution, the imperialists everywhere used to raise a pet slogan of export and import of revolution by Russia in different countries; the burden of such criticism was, of course, later on shifted to and thrust upon the shoulders of China after the victory of Chinese revolution. The Russian leaders in typical blissful ignorance have attacked China in tune with the language of the imperialists in spite of the most exemplary role played by China. About the characterisation of Indonesian or Indo-Pak problem by the Russian leaders—the less said the better. We refrain from making any comment on these two questions as they are not so much vital in the present context. We strongly feel that this attitude of the Soviet leaders should be severely condemned not only by the Communists alone but by all the anti-imperialist democratic forces of the world. There is no doubt that this type of baseless, anti-Chinese propaganda will simply strengthen the hand of the imperialists all the world over and will definitely undermine the revolutionary struggle and the liberation movement of the people. How can the Soviet leaders after naked, false anti-Chinese tirade on their part, take exception to

the recent Chinese thesis, whether right or wrong, that "Soviet leaders today want to dominate the whole world in collusion with America"? Will not this Chinese thesis about the Soviet leaders gain more credence if such false anti-Chinese propaganda continue a single day more gladdening only the imperialists and the reactionary forces? Such an attitude of the Soviet leaders will help to convince the common people about the Chinese thesis, even if it is wrong.

In India parties like S.S.P, P.S.P, Jan-Sangh, Swatantra etc.—who are the well known rabid anti-communists, are getting from all these, very fine fuel for their anti-communist fire. Thus this Russian tirade against China is simply supplying propaganda materials to the "American-lobby" in India. What can be more tragic than this!

This is an undeniable fact that it is the U.S. imperialists who are providing today the greatest obstacle in the path of development of progressive and revolutionary movement of any kind in different countries of the world. So the task of progressive and revolutionary movements of different countries will be not only to fight against the ruling clique of respective countries under the leadership of the working class but also to mobilise strong public opinion against American imperialism in order to isolate this greatest force of international reaction. Thus it becomes incumbent upon all the patriotic, anti-imperialist and communist forces to rally round this struggle, make it more and more consolidated which alone can give a defeat to the naked aggressive policy of U. S. imperialism. This struggle, if correctly conducted, may create a situation when the liberation movement of different countries will have to face only the native reactionaries

# In Spite Of Ideological Differences, Is Called For

and not the imperialists, as it may be difficult on their part to interfere into the internal affairs of any country in teeth of serious opposition from all concerned. The cult of "cash and violence" of the U. S. warlords and the slogan of "Asians fight Asians" will then surely come to an end in the face of final defeat of American imperialism on the one hand and the consequent isolation of its puppets from the main supply of men and material on the other. Judged in this context can anybody deny the incalculable harm caused by this false anti-Chinese propaganda by the Soviet leaders which is objectively strengthening the hands of the imperialists? At a time when the U. S. imperialists are facing defeats after defeats in Vietnam and are in search of manoeuvres which can save their so-called prestige in the face of final defeat in this hemi-sphere and when keeping this end in view the U. S. warlords have, of late, expanded the area of aggression to Cambodia, Laos etc. and have been able to rope in the support of Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Japan, Formosa and such other states—these two articles, in tune with the propaganda of American lobby in our country, will severely hit at the backbone of these liberation struggles—thousand times more than the American napalm bombs. The present hate campaign against China by the Russian leaders look extremely obnoxious particularly when we find that even in America some personalities are coming to the forefront to openly denounce the naked US aggression in South East Asia. When the Soviet leaders accuse Chinese interference "to be one of the factors that precipitated the Right-wing coup and Cambodia's rapprochement with the US imperialists" Mr. Harriman himself strongly criticised American action here and even a CIA leader has

reportedly held CIA activities mainly responsible for these right-wing coups in this area. This is why such a lukewarm attitude of the Soviet leaders to the liberation struggles of South-East Asia has become serious point of attack by the recently deposed leader of Cambodia, Prince Sihanouk. "Prince Sihanouk said..... Further delay by the Soviet Union in recognising his Government in exile in Peking would not be in the interest of the Russian or Indo-Chinese liberation struggle." (Statesman May 25, 1970) Asked why the Soviet Union had not yet recognised his Government, the Prince told...that he did not interfere in the Sino-Soviet quarrel because "it is not our business" (Hindustan Standard 25.5.70). This statement of Sihanouk is no good commentary about the role of the Soviet leaders and it reveals extreme lack of unity of international Communist movement.

So this is a serious question about which every genuine Communist feels highly concerned. What is the correct process for resolving the present strainness of Sino-Soviet relationship? Is it correct to assume that the present problem mainly stems from ideological differences? Has it got any bearing that unless ideological differences are resolved there can be no ground of united struggle even in our struggle against the imperialists? These are some vital questions before the leaders of international Communist movement which call for serious and scientific analysis for coming at correct conclusion. In this connection, we like to refer to a historic piece of document by our beloved leader and teacher Com. Shibdas Ghosh written about seven years ago. In "An appeal to the leaders of international Communist movement" published in "Socialist Unity" in September '63 Com. Ghosh said, "The

**maintenance of the unity of the working class and the international Communist movement and of the solidarity of the Socialist Camp is now of paramount importance. All other issues are subordinated to it. Hence, in no case, should bitterness between the different Communist Parties be allowed to continue for a single day more. Unity of the working class and the international Communist movement, by the socialist states against the imperialists, have got to be ensured without further delay, serious ideological differences between the Communist Parties notwithstanding."**

We are extremely sorry to observe that this clarion call of ours to build up closer communist unity went into the deaf ears of the leaders of the international communist movement. This call for unity is distinctly different from the present Soviet concept of unity on the terms and conditions laid down by a leading party which other communist parties are supposed to obey without raising any question whatsoever. Such a process is fraught with the danger of dividing the international communist movement into groups and coteries only to the jubilation of the imperialists.

In the same article Com. Ghosh said, "It must not be forgotten that in case of ideological differences concerning questions of principle, there can be no middle line, no compromise....The middle line always muddles up the whole thing and worsens the situation. Attempts to any how resolve the present ideological differences immediately, even at the cost of principles by patching up the differences and adopting a *via media*, as in the past, will further complicate the issues and keep alive the grounds of ideological differences. ....Ideological differences within the world communist camp are no new

phenomena also. Nor can their future occurrence be absolutely ruled out. There had been ideological differences between the communist parties in the past and it goes without saying that in future also, even after the present differences would be correctly resolved, there will crop up fresh new differences. In the present historical epoch, when the national form of existence has not outlived itself, when the communist parties of different countries are maintaining separate existence, there is every likelihood of differences being cropped up between them on matters of approach to different world issues, because of the difference in experience gained by the different communist parties in course of the revolutionary struggle conducted by them in their respective spheres..... So long as the inner-party struggle is conducted on the basis of education and persuasion, with a view to resolve the differences and strengthen the unity of the party ideologically, politically and organisationally and in action, there is no harm. And unless and until the conclusion is finally reached that ideological rapprochement is no more possible, the inner-party struggle should not disturb the unity of the party and the united action against the enemy at all. If inner-party struggle deepens the differences within the party, if it intensifies disunity and adversely affects united action against the enemy (unless it is concluded that ideological rapprochement between the disputants is an impossibility), then it is to be realised that the struggle is being conducted without principle or that there is lack of understanding of the principle that should govern the Communists in the conduction of an ideological struggle or that there is absence of proper sense of Communist Unity. What has been said

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## In the Interest of Development of Democratic Movement Defeat CPI(M)'s Left Opportunistic Politics

(Continued from page 5)

Com. Ghosh continues to say that the philosophical intolerance which is noticeable in the behaviour of the big left parties is virtually destroying the reasonable frame of mind, which is so essential for revolution. Such an attitude of subverting reason, big party chauvinism, left opportunism and fanatic outlook of political cadres only weaken the left democratic movements from within and objectively help the growth of right reaction in this country. The left sectarian outlook of some so-called communist parties has also precipitated a split in the camp of left and democratic forces. In spite of manifold defects the left democratic movements were slowly gaining in strength. But now, unless this left opportunism and narrow sectarian outlook are defeated, then the present democratic mass movements cannot be strengthened. In order to wage struggle against the common enemy and the reactionary circle, the instrument of mass struggle which has been weakened should be revitalised. Com. Ghosh says that the dogmatists and the revisionists are anti-imperialists and join in a common front with the revolutionaries, to resist the imperialists' offensive. But yet, while maintaining unity as against the main enemy, a revolutionary party also conducts relentless ideological struggle against both revisionism and dogmatism, for building up a mighty anti-imperialist movement and furthering the cause of revolution. Similarly, it is necessary to fight the left opportunism of CPM for intensifying the just struggles against the common enemy. He says, we do not consider CPM as an enemy of left and democratic camp. We criticise CPM for its left opportunist policies which have caused incalculable harm to the democratic front.

Only by giving defeat to the narrow sectarian outlook and left opportunist policies of CPM, and correcting this party, the unity of the democratic front can be restored and the front revitalised. A very common logic often put forward by CPM is that since they are Marxists, to oppose CPM means to oppose Marxism and Communism. Com. Ghose says, we of course do not believe CPM, as a Marxist Party. They are a petty bourgeois party having Marxist vocabulary. If by simply showing the signboard of Marxism, a party can claim itself to be a Communist Party, then following the same logic, even the renegade Tito can also claim that his party is a true Communist party since it bears the name "Yugoslavia League of Communists". When CPM is truly a pseudo-Marxist party, to oppose CPM cannot be deemed as opposing communism. CPM must prove in actual practice to what extent they are Marxist. While concluding his speech, Com. Ghosh says that on one side, we have to fight against CPM for its left opportunist policies and on the other side we have to remain more vigilant and cautious about the anti-communist conspiracy and severely condemn the anti-communist crusade of the right reactionary forces in the country. It is one thing to oppose CPM, but it is quite a different thing to oppose communism. Those who want to utilise the patriotic feeling of the people, to breed hatred against communism, will ultimately take shelter in the lap of the imperialists, he warns. The only course left is to unite in a joint struggle with the communists against the common enemy. Com. Ghosh appeals to the people to build up mighty democratic mass movements by defeating the left opportunist tactics of CPM along with giving a severe rebuff to the anti-Communist tirade of the right reactionary forces and also to prepare the ground-work for anti-capitalist socialist revolution in the country.

## Kerala Police Ransacks SUC Office

On 4th August last at about 4 p.m. roughly 25 armed policemen surrounded the SUCI Party Office at Beena Sadanam, Peroor, Quilon-5, Kerala, entered the Party Office, pressed their guns on the chests of Comrade Joseph James, Secretary of our Kerala State Organising Committee, and Comrade L. Kamalnath Pai, and ransacked the Office. The Police had no arrest or search warrant. It was pre-planned by the local Congress workers. CPI(M) also had been persistently carrying out false propaganda against SUCI workers and branding them as dacoits and Naxalites. This incident created a commotion in the

locality and a large section of the inhabitants expressed their indignation over the harassment of these selfless dedicated workers of SUCI who were motivatedly painted as dacoits and Naxalites by the CPI(M).

Thereafter on 16th August last in the afternoon the Police came to the hotel at Chenganacherry where Comrade Krishna Chakraborty had been putting up, arrested him along with Comrade K. C. Dominica and seized all our books and literature. Com. Chakraborty is a leader of our Party who had been to Kerala from the Central Office at Calcutta. They were taken to the police station but subsequently released.

## SOVIET SLANDER AGAINST CHINA

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here about the inner-party struggle within an individual Communist Party applies with equal force to the ideological struggle which the different Communist Parties in the world Communist Camp conduct."

These are lessons of great historical importance and are applicable with greater intensity to the current problems of international Communist movement. Let us illustrate a particular point here. It is known to all of us that both revisionism and dogmatism constitute great danger for the growth and development of real revolutionary movement in a country. Unless these two trends of revisionism and dogmatism are fought out completely on ideological plane it is impossible to hold high the banner of revolution. But does it mean that a real revolutionary party should not form any alliance with either a revisionist or a dogmatist in its fight against imperialism? The answer is definitely in the negative. We know that given correct understanding it is quite possible for a real Communist to launch life and death battle against the imperialists unitedly with the revisionist or the dogmatist—serious ideological differences between them notwithstanding. We are sorry to note that on this point both the Russian and even the Chinese leaders have taken an altogether wrong and unscientific position.

In fine, we fervently appeal to the leaders of the international Communist movement and particularly to the Soviet leaders to stop such a baseless,

false and slanderous propaganda against a brother Communist Party and to take appropriate steps without any precondition to resolve the differences among them and thereby to cement closer Communist unity which alone can stimulate the anti-imperialist freedom movement, and the revolutionary struggle against capitalism in different countries of the world.

## ARMS AID TO SOUTH AFRICA

(Continued from page 3)

Government, that sometimes waxes eloquent against racialism practised by the Vorster regime has not seriously moved even an inch to defeat the policy of the British Government to resume arms aid to South Africa. This attitude of the India Government is against the anti-imperialist anti-racial tradition of the Indian people and betrays its pro-imperialist leanings. But the Indian people cannot remain an idle spectator in this case. They are to assert themselves and force the India Government by pressure of country-wide mass movements to quit Commonwealth, ban import of British goods into India, confiscate British capital invested in the country and abrogate all treaties with Great Britain, if the British Government does not revise its decision to resume arms aid to South Africa. This movement by our people will be helpful to the national liberation movements by the peoples of the African countries. But such a movement can be developed only by the united efforts of left and democratic parties in our country. We request them to respond to our call.